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Horace and the Mediaeval Mind*

Mantuan Vergil and Venusian Horace are so intimately associated in the modern mind and were so closely linked together in their lifetime that we are apt to see in fancy the shadowy forms of the two friends moving in unfailing companionship through all the two thousand years from the Rome of Augustus to the world of the present day. Both were country boys who rose to eminence by sheer greatness of genius; they were almost of the same age, Vergil, the senior, having his birthday in 70 B. C., and Horace being born in 65. Both were members of the intimate circle of poets that assembled about Maecenas, for Vergil had himself presented the bashful Horace to his patron. A happy friendship united them during life. For was not Vergil one of those three "white souls" whose meeting (*Hor.*, *Serm.* 1.5.39-44) with Horace and his companions on the way to Brundisium made peculiarly grateful that early morning at the town of Formiae?

The writings of both became immediately "classics." Each was the subject of learned imitation and comment during the first century of our era. Seneca in the form and substance of his choruses frequently recalls the *Odes* of Horace. During the same period Petronius points to the poet's *curiosa felicitas* and Persius shows himself steeped in the Horatian tradition. Quintilian lauds Horace as "about the only one worth reading" of Rome's lyric poets (*Inst. Or.* 10, 1, 96):

nam et insurgit aliquando et plenus est iucunditatis
et gratiae et varius figuris et verbis felicissime audax.

Like Vergil Horace was destined to have his works employed as text-books in the Roman schools and exert a wide-spread influence upon the minds of the young in the educational system of the first centuries of the Christian era.

And so we might run on, citing further instances to exemplify the continuance of Horatian influence, like that of Vergil, during the concluding centuries of ancient Rome. But when we approach the end of the ancient world and the beginning of mediaeval times, the two poets part company. Vergil walks on, alone, venerated by pagan and Christian alike, never forgotten, never other than

. . . the monarch of sublimest song,
That o'er the others like an eagle soars.
(Dante, *Inferno* 4.90-91; Carey's version)

In the great highway through the culture of mediaeval life Vergil makes his way; but Horace now pursues a far more secluded path, never fully lost, it is true, but sometimes disappearing from the sight of men—destined to be reunited with Vergil when the revolving

years shall have made their ways converge upon the new avenue that leads to the modern world.

How are we to explain the difference of appeal made by Vergil and Horace to the men of mediaeval times? Vergil is preeminently an *anima naturaliter Christiana*. The long continued belief that in his great fourth eclogue he sang of the coming of the Redeemer set him apart for Christian scholars from all other pagan bards and gave him a place almost beside the Hebrew prophets themselves. Further, the tone of all his writings is almost invariably lofty, serene, and noble. The pervading melancholy that caused him to sing of the *lacrimae rerum* distinguished him from the mass of men, and, like those sorrowing shades he represents in the world below, who

stabant orantes primi transmittere cursum,
tendebantque manus ripae ulterioris amore,
(Aen. 6. 313-314)

he himself seemed to be preoccupied with a longing for that farther shore and to be enwrapped in thoughts of that mysterious bourne to which the successive races of men are ceaselessly voyaging.

But if Maro was a poet of the world yet to be reached, or—treated on a less noble level—a mighty magician from whose lines "prophetic" truths might be wrested through the *sortes Vergilianae*, Flaccus was outstandingly a singer of this present life, its joys and sorrows, its friendships and its enmities, its aspirations and despairings. Yes, "he rises aloft at times," Quintilian has told us; but it is to the heights of the natural man only. He betrays no yearnings for that *ripa ulterior* of the sixth *Aeneid*; his fervor, when he is fervid, is that of philosophy and not of religion; the immortality he longs for is but the immortality of fame; and the *aurea mediocritas* of his style reflects, as it were, a moderateness of ideal and philosophy of life that could be contented with a prudent and temperate enjoyment of the blessings of this earth, with no aspirations for a life to come.

Can we, then, be surprised if, in the early years of Christianity, when paganism was still alive and a foe to be reckoned with, when any literature that emphasized the age-old cleaving of mankind to "the world and its works" was dangerous to the higher ideals of the struggling infant Church, can we, I say, be surprised, if the churchmen of early centuries looked askance upon the worldly Horace—if at times they were positively hostile to him? For it was precisely the Horatian acquiescence in the things of this earth, his apparent inability to lift his eyes to a heavenly city and to mold his life into ideals corresponding to newer and ampler hopes, that the early Church was exerting all her powers to counteract.

And yet the Church of the first centuries of our era, though conceivably she might have done so, did not destroy the memory of the Venusian bard. "Strange to say," remarks Mr. Showerman,¹ "and yet not really

*Read before the Saint Louis University Classical Club at Sodality Hall, Saint Louis University, January 13, 1935.

strange, the most potent active influence in the destruction of his appeal to men was also the most effective instrument of his preservation." Had it not been for the labors of monks occupying themselves as copyists and the devoted industry of the monastic schools, Horace and every other classical writer would almost assuredly have been carried to everlasting oblivion in the wave of barbarism and destruction that swept over Europe like an irresistible torrent at the downfall of the Roman commonwealth.

The Western Empire came to its close in the year 476 A. D., and from this year until about 1400 we may conveniently set the duration of the Middle Ages. Early in this period, coming to us like a last voice of a dying antiquity, is the subscription of one Vettius Agorius Basilius Mavortius, who had been consul in the year 527 A. D.:

Vettius Agorius Basilius Mavortius v(ir) c(larissimus) et in(lustrissimus) ex com(ite) dom(estico), ex con(sule) ord(inario), legi et ut potui emendavi conferente mihi magistro Felice oratore urbis Romae.

On eight manuscripts this subscription follows the *Epodes*. It tells us that Mavortius "read and, as well as he could, corrected" at least the lyric portions of Horace (and perhaps also the *Epistles* and *Satires*), with the help of one "master Felix" who was an "orator of the city of Rome." The work of "correcting" was probably done by comparing Mavortius' own text with some other codex which he considered to be more authentic.

About the year 540, the distinguished layman Flavius Magnus Cassiodorus Senator, who had held high offices under Theodoric and his successors, established on his property on the east coast of Bruttium the monastery of Vivarium. Concerned with the intellectual as well as the purely spiritual life of his monks, he was simultaneously responsible for the preservation of profane and sacred culture. A few years prior to the foundation of Cassiodorus was the establishment (in 529 A. D.) by Saint Benedict of his monastery upon Monte Cassino, midway between Naples and Rome. The efforts of the Benedictine brethren were destined to be a most potent instrument for preserving the treasures of classical literature, Horace, of course, among them.

The Benedictine movement spread rapidly on the continent and made giant strides in Ireland also, where before the close of the sixth century the Benedictine influence was firmly established. And the monks of the "isle of saints and scholars" must be credited with the splendid task of keeping alight the torch of learning when darkness, as a result of barbarism and war, threatened to enwrap the whole of Europe. Speaking of sixth-century Ireland, Mr. Hall¹² remarks:

... Her remote situation, secure from the incursions of the barbarians, was peculiarly favourable to the growth of secular as well as ecclesiastical learning. The Church did not meet such learning with suspicion, since it was confined to the clergy, and did not affect the mass of the nation, to whom Latin was a wholly alien tongue. There was therefore none of the fear which haunted the early champions of Christianity in Italy that the study of secular learning might lead to the revival of a moribund paganism.

And that learning which Erin had received from the mainland she carried back with lavish hand in Europe's hour of need. In the seventh century Irish missiona-

ries made their way first to the isle of Britain—there to become the teachers of those Anglo-Saxon invaders lately brought into the Church through the efforts of Pope Gregory the Great—and then to the continent itself. Though they were primarily soldiers of Christ, inspired with a missionary zeal to convert and to instruct in the things of the spirit, the monasteries which they founded were centers of profane scholarship as well as sacred. Many were the monasteries they established in France. But the two foundations of especial importance for the history of classical scholarship were Bobbio, south of Pavia, begun in 614 by the Irish monk St. Columban from Leinster, and St. Gall, south of Lake Constance.

Antique scholarship received a fresh stimulus about the middle of the eighth century as a result of the energetic action of the Christian Frankish king, Charlemagne. Deciding upon a sweeping educational revival, he summoned scholars from all over Europe—from Spain the poet Theodolf, from Italy Paul the Deacon and Peter of Pisa, the Irish Dungal and Clemens, and the Anglo-Saxon Alcuin, head of the school at York since 778. "Schools were founded both in cloister and at court," we read,¹³ "scholars summoned, manuscripts copied, the life of pagan antiquity studied, and the bond between the languages and cultures of present and past made firmer." Horace, of course, was among the authors copied by scribes under the influence of the Carolingian renaissance.

The actual reading and study of Horace as an author to be pondered over and enjoyed were, as we have already indicated, extremely limited in comparison with the favor enjoyed by Vergil. Isidore of Seville in the seventh century, author of the *Etymologiae*, knew Horace, and was, like the earlier Cassiodorus, a mediator between the Church and Antiquity. In the eighth century, there is evidence of Horatian knowledge in Columban and the Venerable Bede, in Alcuin and Paul the Deacon. Alcuin, in fact, was called a "Flaccus," and Paul is credited with a poem of his own¹⁴ in the sapphic metre of Horace; the opening stanza has the lines:

Ut queant laxis resonare fibris
Mira gestorum famuli tuorum,
Solve polluti labii reatum,
Sancte Ioannes.

Yet withal the lyric verses of the Roman bard, because of their complexity and difficulty of meter, as well as their distinctive type of content, could not exert a wide appeal. The *Satires*, and more particularly the *Epistles*, fared better. For they were, first of all, expressed in that same hexameter verse that was the vehicle for the lines of the august Mantuan—the vehicle, too, of Lucan, whom men admired for his powers of rhetoric; of Ovid, in his gracefully related stories of the *Metamorphoses*; of Persius and Juvenal, whose fulminations against the vice of their times were of high service in the cause of moral instruction. Thus many pithily phrased moral maxims, embodying practical bits of wisdom and gleanings of a philosophy of life, passed into the collections known as *Florilegia* or "Collections of Flowers." Such aphorisms or *sententiae* were eagerly sought after by moral writers and were often incorporated in collections of proverbs and maxims.

The Carolingian impetus to classical scholarship, as we have seen, resulted in a renewed activity in the

copying and multiplying of manuscripts. For Horace, there are some two hundred and fifty *codices* known to-day. The greater number of these are French in origin, and the original Carolingian scribes based their texts on the editions of Mavortius and the great commentator Porphyrio. The oldest is the ninth or tenth century *Codex Bernensis*, which originated near Orleans. Germany ranks second to France as a source of Horatian manuscripts. Of sundry scribes whose labors contributed to the preservation of the literary wealth of antiquity, especial mention must be made of the learned abbot Servatus Lupus of Ferrières, the accomplished ninth-century humanist, who lived from 805 to 862. He loved the classics; and his extant letters reveal a wide correspondence with various centers of learning in Europe and in Britain, and disclose an acquaintance with many classical authors, Horace included among them.

In the tenth century there was produced at Toul (940) an animal-epic entitled *Ecbasis Captivi*, a work of twelve hundred and twenty-nine hexameter verses; one fifth of these have been drawn from Horace—sometimes as whole lines, sometimes in the strange patchwork method of the *cento*. Mr. Showerman⁵ adds:

At about the same time, the famous Hrotsvita of Gandersheim writes her six Christian dramas patterned after Terence, and in them uses Horace. Mention by Walter of Speyer, and interest shown by the active monastery on the Tegernsee, are of the same period. The tenth century is sometimes spoken of as the Latin Renaissance under the Ottos, the first of whom, called the Great, crowned Emperor at Rome in 962, welcomed scholars at his court and made every effort to promote learning.

Early in the eleventh century (in the year 1003), the scholar Gerbert died as Pope Sylvester II; he was a man convinced of the utility of classical lore and is known to have employed Horace and interpreted him in his school. During the same century, the poet Amarcius produced a long satire against the evils of the day; Horace was clearly his model for the work. An instance of the occasional use of Horatian *sententiae* in collections of aphorisms and maxims is had in the *Libellus Proverbiorum* of the monk Otloh of Saint Emmeram, born about the year 1010.

The twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries found Horace somewhat in eclipse. Always a kind of "poets' poet" during the Middle Ages, despite his use as a text-book in the schools, he failed to maintain an appeal during these centuries. Citations from his writings, especially the *Satires* and *Epistles*, have of course been found, and it must be supposed that he was known by men of culture and literary attainments. But in general the pathway that the poet trod during these days was like a faintly discerned lane that few shared with him. The great highway upon which the mass of men traveled was freighted with other interests and with a literary cargo which, though it had little in common with Horace, was often of a unique excellence and fineness.

It was not until the Renaissance that Horace again came into his own. But let us not be hasty to censure and condemn the men of the Middle Ages for their relative disregard of the great Venusian. Tastes differ from century to century, and the poet who is in high esteem to-day may be in obscurity to-morrow. The Greeks of the Hellenistic period preferred Euripides

to Aeschylus, and Menander to Aristophanes; the Roman archaizers of the second century of our era held the rugged orations of Cato in higher esteem than Cicero's, and lauded Ennius above Vergil himself; and in the history of English literature there have been periods when even the supreme Shakespeare has been eclipsed by those whom we to-day cannot but rate as his inferiors.

There was no lack of literary achievement in mediaeval times. No age can be called barren that has produced the thrillingly pathetic *Stabat Mater*, the solemn and majestic *Dies Irae*, the leonine thunder of the *De Contemptu Mundi*, and an unnumbered host of other hymns and devotional songs of rare loveliness and poetic beauty. But there was a secular poetry, too—stiff and imitative sometimes, but again fresh and fair, throbbing with the very life-blood of its own day, tender and winsome and charming. Of the latter, very many instances might be cited: but I shall content myself with the little obituary note to Adeleid, tiny daughter of Charles the Mighty—an epitaph from the Carolingian lyrics, from among the *Songs of Peter and Paul*⁶:

Tombed in this sepulcher's mass a tiny maiden is buried,
Adeleid—such was the name baptism's waters conferred.
Charles was her sire, the mighty, strong in the diadem twofold,

Noble was he from of old, brave 'mid the clashing of arms.
Born was the maid near the lofty ramparts of proud Pavia,
Whiles her doughty sire aimed at Italia's realm;
But as she fared towards the Rhone Death snatched her from life's very threshold,

Striking thus from afar grief in her queen-mother's heart.
Dead is she, spared not to view her father's glorious triumphs,
Her the eternal Sire has in the kingdom of light.

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WILLIAM CHARLES KORFMACHER

NOTES.

The writer wishes gratefully to acknowledge his indebtedness to the following works: F. W. Hall, *A Companion to Classical Texts* (Oxford; Clarendon Press, 1913). Martin Schanz, *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*³, zweiter Teil, erste Hälfte (München; C. H. Beck, 1911); Grant Showerman, *Horace and His Influence* (Boston; Marshall Jones Company, 1922).

1. *Op. cit.*, 91. 2. *Id.*, 74. 3. Showerman, *l. c.*, 96.

4. Ernestus Duemmler, *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini* I. 2 (Berolini, apud Weidmannos, 1880), pp. 83-84, lists the poem, entitled *Versus in Laudem Sancti Ioannis Baptiste*, under the head of *Appendix Carminum Dubiorum*.

5. *Op. cit.*, p. 100.

6. *Hoc tumulata iacet pusilla puellula busto*,

Adeleid amne sacro quae vocitata fuit.

Huic sator est Karolus, gemine diademate pollens,

Nobilis ingenio, fortis ad arma satis.

Sumpserat haec ortum prope moenia celsa Papiae,

Cum caperet genitor Itala regna potens;

Sed Rhodanum properans rapta est de limine vitae,

Ictaque sunt matris corda dolore procul.

Excessit, patrios non conspicuta triumphos,

Nunc Patris aeterni regna beata tenet.

(Duemmler, *l. c.*, 59)

To Plato wisdom means, ultimately, what it had meant to Socrates—not only a knowledge of scientific or metaphysical truth, but, above all, the knowledge of good and evil, the knowledge (as we say) of values. To possess wisdom is to know what is really good and worth living for; and that is the secret of happiness.—F. M. Cornford.

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Editorial

If to make a thing easy means to eliminate protracted and strenuous effort, then to make Latin and Greek easy for high-school pupils is impossible without at the same time destroying the value of these subjects as instruments of education. The aim of the true teacher is not to spare the student hard work, but to inspire him to do as much hard work as he is capable of doing. Study, if it is to train and develop the powers of the soul, cannot be converted into relaxation and play. Of course, the element of interest and attractiveness, which is so prominent in games, and which stimulates the young to long and vigorous effort even at play, should by all means be enlisted by the teacher in the work of education. It is possible, however, to confuse this element of interest with mere amusement, and to make the mistake of trying to remove from study all close application and serious concentration.

That interest and attractiveness are not the same as relaxation and mere amusement, indeed, that there is no essential connection between the two, is proved conclusively by such highly interesting and attractive sports as baseball and football, in which the tension and exertion with which they are pursued are the very index of their interest and attractiveness. We might almost say that the more physical effort, coupled with mental alertness and ingenuity, is required to play a game, the more strongly the young will be attracted to it.

This fact of observation ought to give us a valuable hint as to how to introduce the element of interest into our teaching of Latin and Greek. We do not go to a football game to be amused by the band, or by the cheering, or by the antics of cheer-leaders or mascots: we go either to play football, or to see football played; and we shall not be satisfied with anything less than hard fighting and good plays, well thought out and accurately and effectively executed. The Latin and Greek languages are full of logic and symmetry and

beauty in their etymology, syntax, and idiom. The appreciation and thorough mastery of them involve strenuous work; but they are also brimming with interest. A neatly turned phrase, a finely balanced antithesis, a smoothly rounded period, a rolling and sonorous cadence are as thrilling as the most perfectly executed drop-kick or lateral pass. The genius of a Caesar, the courage and rebound of a Vercingetorix, the argumentative dexterity and thundering invective of a Cicero, the long and patient endurance of an Aeneas, these and a hundred other things in Greek and Roman literature are as attractive to the mind and heart of youth as the cleverness and dash of the most popular football star. These things, then, let the teacher present as the center of interest and inspiration to his class. History, Greek and Roman life with its laws and institutions and games, modern parallels, English derivatives, coins, pictures of archaeological remains, attempts at reproducing scenes from ancient life, *et id genus omne* are well enough as background, and should not be neglected, but the crowd and the band and the cheering are not the chief attraction at the football game; the game's the thing! And if the game is dull and spiritless, all the glamorous background in the world is just so much wasted scenery.

And if the question be asked, how to make Latin and Greek themselves the center of interest, the answer is not difficult: by broad and intimate and appreciative knowledge of Latin and Greek on the part of the teacher. Given this, and given the power of imparting knowledge to others, practically everything else can be dispensed with as unessential. But persistent hard work on the part of the student can never be dispensed with, if we are to be educators and not purveyors of amusement. Nor will it be necessary for the teacher to eliminate hard work from the programme, in order to secure the student's interest and co-operation; for *ubi amatur non laboratur; et si laboratur, labor ipse amat*.

Virgil is always popular, and Virgil articles are doubtless always welcome to our readers. "Cruising with Aeneas," the first part of which we are publishing in the present issue, is something new in the way of helps for the Virgil class, and the author is fully justified in expecting good results from the use of the "cruise" idea in the classroom. The paper is also a welcome addition to the abundant Virgil material published in past volumes of the BULLETIN. We would call special attention to the following appreciations of Virgilian art printed heretofore: "Virgil and the Preternatural", III, 70; "The Second Book of the Aeneid as Literature", IV, 6; "Virgil and Ancient Critics", V, 41; "The Sixth Book of the Aeneid", VI, 25, 33; "Vergilian Gems of Thought", VI, 67; "Virgil, a Poet and Alchemy", VI, 47; "The Vergilian Simile", VI, 57; "The First Book of the Aeneid", VII, 1; "The Second Book of the Aeneid", VII, 9; "Oratory in the Aeneid", VII, 13; "The Sixth Aeneid and the Spiritual Exercises", VII, 23; "Vergil's Ideal of Unselfish Love", VII, 5; "Virgil and the Moderns", VII, 25; "The Ninth Book of the Aeneid", VIII, 1, 9; "Mezentius and Lausus", VIII, 57; "Too Steadfastly Felicitous", VIII, 25; "Why Do High-School Pupils Prefer Vergil's Aeneid?", VIII, 70; "The Third Book of the Aeneid", IX, 1, 13; "Aeneas, Epic Hero True or False?", IX, 17; "Emotional Contrast in Aeneid VI, 155-650", IX, 62; "That

Ocean Roll", IX, 36; "Good Aeneas or—What Else?" IX, 31; "Structural Contrast in Old and Modern Poetry", IX, 69; "Vergil's Aeneid and Aristotle's Poetics", X, 45, 60; "Notes on the Eighth Book of the Aeneid", XI, 38, 46.

In connection with Miss Esther C. Schwienher's paper in the June number of the *CLASSICAL BULLETIN*, entitled "Mottoes for Latin Clubs and Classes," we wish to state that through an oversight no mention was made, in the Note, of Smith's "First Year Latin," revised by Harold Thompson, published by Messrs. Allyn and Bacon, in which practically every one of the seventy-two lessons begins with a motto, and in addition there are, in the appendix, about three pages of mottoes, sayings, and quotations, including all the Latin mottoes of the States.

Forerunners of the Red Cross in the Roman Army

Long before the story of Florence Nightingale's activities as army nurse in the Crimean War became a legend, and before Camillus de Lellis wore the Red Cross badge, and before the Red Cross organization itself existed, Rome had already a fairly well organized system of relief in her armies.

As early as the Punic Wars, historians mention physicians. Livy alludes in various places to the care of the wounded soldiers, without, however, specifying the system of the organization. In the war with Hannibal he describes the soldiers gathered around the tents, in front of which fires were kindled and oil passed around through the companies to soften and ease their limbs.¹ The seals of Roman oculists attached to boxes of ointment, discovered in military camps in France, Germany, and Britain, also suggest the practice of ophthalmic therapy. Livy's remark regarding Hannibal's loss of an eye, due to lack of time for applying a remedy, indicates that some kind of a salve was available either on the battlefield or on the march.

In those days when the system of nursing was as yet only partially organized, the sick and wounded had to be self-reliant. Livy² says that every helpless man sought aid from those around him. The army depended upon the civilians for aid, and the soldiers were often quartered in houses close to the places of battle.

Foremost of these civilians was Agrippina, the granddaughter of Augustus, who on one occasion served as an army nurse. At the death of Augustus in 14 A. D. she was on the Lower Rhine with Germanicus, her husband, who had command of the legions there. During the absence of Germanicus a rumor was circulated that the main body of the Germans was approaching to invade Gaul. It was proposed to destroy the bridge across the Rhine, which, if it had been done, would have cut off the retreat of the army of Caecina, who was at that time serving under Germanicus. Agrippina bravely opposed the destruction of the bridge, and when her husband's troops approached, she received the wounded soldiers and presented them with clothes and everything necessary for the treatment of their wounds.⁴

Busa, a woman eminent for her birth and riches, is mentioned by Livy⁵ with special pride. After the soldiers had escaped to Canusium during one of Hannibal's wars, this Apulian woman received them graciously and assisted them with clothes, corn, and pro-

visions. On that occasion no less than ten thousand received hospitality.⁶

While these things were happening in Canusium, Livy goes on to narrate, four thousand five hundred horse and foot soldiers, who in hasty flight had dispersed through the country, came to Venusia. The Venusians, after quartering these soldiers on their families to be entertained and taken care of, gave to each horseman a gown, a tunic, and twenty-five denarii, and to each foot soldier ten denarii and such arms as were necessary. Every kind of hospitality was shown them by these Venusians, who strove not to be outdone in generosity by a woman of Canusium.

The Romans carrying bandages for emergency cases were allowed to retreat to the rear for medical treatment. In one battle, however, Caesar denied this privilege to his men. He said that he gave no permission to the weary to retire from the fight nor to the wounded to quit the post where they were stationed.⁷ Trajan, in the course of his campaigns against the Dacians, encountered the foe at Tapai, where, after the battle, he visited his wounded men. When the supply of bandages was exhausted, he cut his own clothing into strips and gave them to the soldiers to wrap around their wounds.⁸

During the Republic the chief officers brought their private physicians with them on campaigns. The army doctors having the rank of *principales* were an innovation of the Imperial times. Cato Minor, when following Pompey the Great to Africa, took with him some of the people called *Psylli*,⁹ who by sucking out the poison could cure the effects of serpents' bites. Plutarch mentions Cato Minor's physician, Cleanthes, sewing up the wound Cato had inflicted on himself after the battle of Utica. That Pansa had a physician with him may be gathered from Suetonius,¹⁰ who says that the circumstances of Pansa's death were so suspicious that the physician Glyco was imprisoned on the charge of having applied poison to the wound. Both of these men were contemporaries of Caesar; yet Caesar makes no particular mention of physicians. It was, however, about Caesar's time and during the Imperial time that the care of the wounded was organized in a systematic way. Caesar often halted on the march, so that the wounded might receive the necessary attention.¹¹ When obliged to continue the march, he quartered the wounded on the people. They, as in the case of those sent by Labienus to Adrumenum,¹² were even carried in wagons to the villages.

When Augustus reorganized the military system, he saw clearly the need of permanent physicians for military service. Every division then received its *medicus*. In each legion there was a *medicus legionis*; to the other branches of the service physicians were also attached. The number of physicians that was assigned to a cohort or legion has not been definitely determined. In Trajan's time the service was more organized, for the physicians' duties included the care of the wounded on the battlefield, as well as of those unable to leave the tent.

Towards the end of the Republic, tents were set aside for the wounded, but it was only in Trajan's time that the *valetudinarium*, or field hospital, was established. Hyginus¹³ wrote a long treatise on the *valetudinarium*, of which there was one for three legions. He mentions the fact that it, built to accommodate two hundred men, was under the supervision of the *medicus*

castrorum. The duties of the *medicus castrorum* were different from those of the *medicus legionis* or *cohortis*, who gave first aid to those wounded while fighting on the field. The *optationes valetudinarii* had charge of the general administration of the *valetudinarium*. These, in turn, were assisted by a number of male nurses. On the *praefectus castrorum* lay the main burden of the entire direction and organization of the *valetudinarium*.

Recent excavations have thrown much light on the general equipment of the *valetudinaria*. Innumerable surgical instruments, as well as boxes containing drugs, have been found. The *valetudinarium* excavated in Switzerland in 1893 indicates that a high degree of medical skill was attained in the Roman army during Imperial times. Germanicus, Tiberius, and Trajan have been extolled for their care and consideration of the wounded and sick. Hadrian, too, visited the sick in their own quarters.¹⁴ Alexander Severus often placed the sick in households where they received attention. He compensated the owners for the medical assistance given to the wounded and sick.

Whatever may have been the medical skill attained by individuals during the Empire, no *medicus* is mentioned as having graduated *maximis cum honoribus*, nor as having received even a diploma. At Rome anyone could practice the art without qualifications or license, but before practicing the candidate was obliged to follow the instructions of a master, with whom he visited the patients in the same capacity as a modern interne. Martial's epigram¹⁵ shows that the purpose of this internship was merely to attain some skill by practice. But while medical skill was rather elementary, the Romans in the army had achieved considerable surgical skill by experience and practice, and adopted a sanitary system almost in line with the modern Red Cross Relief Organization.

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NOTES

1. Livy, 21, 55.
2. *Id.*, 22, 2.
3. *Id.*, 21, 58.
4. Tacitus, *Annales*, 1, 69.
5. Livy, 22, 2.
6. *Id.*, 22, 54.
7. *De Bello Gall.*, 3, 4.
8. Dio Cassius, 68, 8.
9. Plutarch, *Cato Minor*, 55.
10. Suetonius, *Octavius*, 11.
12. *De Bello Afr.*, 21, 3.
13. *De Munitibus Castrorum*.
14. Spartianus, *Hist. Script.*, 10. 15. 5, 9.

Book Review

Second Latin Book—New Series. Edited by Celia Ford. New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1935. Pp. xviii+532+134+exii.

A little less than a year ago the editor of *Second Latin Book—New Series* wrote to the *CLASSICAL BULLETIN* of her interest in its articles on the sense-line method of reading Latin.* To quote in part: "For years past I have used this method of teaching Caesar, calling your 'sense-lines' units of comprehension. About ten years ago my sister and I had papers before various Latin clubs on this subject, but we couldn't 'put it across.'"

* "Membratim Reading of Latin," a letter, *Classical Bulletin* 11 (1934), p. 19.

In the text-book under review, Miss Ford has at last "put it across," at least with her publishers; for the first twenty-nine chapters of Book I and the twenty-fifth chapter of Book II of the *Gallic War* appear in sense-lines. How teachers will accept this new departure remains to be seen. They may, however, be expected to welcome it, since classroom experience has shown that sense-lines aid comprehension as well as retention, and that pupils, after acquaintance with a sense-line text, can handle the full-line, block-page texts more readily.

Miss Ford calls the method "membratim reading" of Latin, *membratim* deriving from *membrum*, the Latin for "colon" or "clause." Her norm for indentation is undoubtedly explained in the teacher's key, of which the reviewer has not yet seen a copy, but minor details of arrangement in the sense-line system are not of great importance. Still, pupils should learn something—preferably by induction—of the principles involved in sense-line arrangement and be given some practice in putting those principles to work.

The editor's confidence in the system, born of actual classroom experience over a long period of years, is stated in the preface: "In the author's experience, instructions and directions to the student concerning the technique—if there is one—of reading or translating Latin have not proved their worth. *Membratim* presentation of the text has, on the other hand, proved effective, for it is not so much a method of teaching how to read Latin as of affording the pupil an opportunity to *learn how*."

The book contains abundant material from which to choose a year's work. The usual first semester of "made" Latin is provided for by the stories of *Narcissus and Echo*, *Baucis and Philemon*, *The Argonauts*, and *De Quibusdam Rebus Romanis*, the latter being a survey of Roman history down to the establishment of the Empire. *The Argonauts*, since it is more directly a preparation for Caesar, is intended for more thorough study, has grammatical notes at the end of each section, and gives drills in the subjunctive, new syntax, and the vocabulary required by the New York State Syllabus. In all four of the stories mentioned above as well as in Caesar, English translations and summaries connect the Latin selections and give the pupil a complete story.

A new and praiseworthy feature appears in this book at the close of each chapter or section of the *Gallic War*—self-tests. The pupil uses the book freely during the test, judges the worth of his work, and then submits it to the teacher. Prose composition, based directly on an immediately preceding selection of the text, is generously provided for. A section on grammar and syntax, paradigm tables, and vocabulary conclude this well-organized book, which is markedly appreciative of the needs and problems of the second-year Latin student.

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"Knowledge is power," but inert accumulated knowledge is tonnage and little else. Do not let us nourish the intellect at the expense of the spirit.—Adam Strohm.

Cruising With Aeneas

The teacher or student, after watching the sack of Troy by the Greeks, and witnessing the part played by the hero Aeneas, embarks with him on his cruise which begins at Antandros, on the Gulf of Andramyttium, and ends at Latium (Rome) on the shore of Italy. The passenger is carried over a course approximately 2305 miles in length, and, with Aeneas and his companions, experiences all the joys and sorrows of a long and arduous journey. This in brief is an explanation of the title of this paper.

The purpose of the paper is manifold. It gives a succinct, yet comprehensive, outline of the principal happenings on the journey. The story of the first six books of the *Aeneid* is here pictured as continuous. The teacher will have no difficulty in supplying details not mentioned in the outline. Since the subject-matter for the high-school course is limited to certain sections of the first six books, the outline will help to supply the missing parts. It is a general experience that students are more interested in a continuous story than they could ever be in mere pieces, which do not reveal the structure of the plot as a whole.

If we study the *Signa* given below, a variety of advantages in using them in the outline becomes manifest. The latitude and longitude, as well as D, inserted after specific places, give a clue to the course of the Trojan fleet and the ports of debarkation. A large wall-map of ancient Greece and Rome will serve to make the voyage more realistic, if the places mentioned in the outline are traced on the map. The mileage intervening between the places indicated helps to calculate the actual distance traveled from the point of last debarkation. The time taken by the cruise is reckoned from the lines indicated. The events occurring between the points along the route are given in the analysis. All these elements have been inserted along the margin of the analysis as a help to developing the student's power of observation and imagination.

In the course of the analysis certain passages of the *Aeneid* are marked with quotation-marks and others with an asterisk. The former are select passages. Their importance in the story, their embellishment in real Virgilian manner, the animated scenery, or the pathetic appeal,—these and other qualities make them "select." If they are not actually prescribed for class matter, they may be taken for sight translation. Passages or lines marked with an asterisk are considered as famous lines. They are helpful in summarizing a scene or situation and, like a sententious saying, impress the content on the mind of the student. In most cases they contain a general truth applicable to present-day scenes and situations. Many of the select passages and famous lines can be assigned as memory lessons.

Other sections are marked by the signum #, or by the large letter O, clear or darkened. The paragraph signum # (chosen arbitrarily, of course, as are all the other signa) calls attention to the fact that the passages so indicated have been a source of inspiration for paintings or sculpture. The capital O when clear (O), indicates the favorable intervention of some deity; while the darkened ● indicates an unfavorable intervention on their part. Since the gods play an important role in the story of the *Aeneid*, the marking of their influence will help the student to understand

the plot or counterplot in the destiny of the hero. In brief then:

T (before numbers in left column) indicates that in the line so marked the poet refers to the element of time spent in journeying;
 * Asterisks indicate famous lines;
 "—" Quotation-marks indicate select passages;
 O ● indicate the god's favorable or unfavorable influence;
 M indicates the mileage;
 D indicates ports of debarkation;
 NE means latitude and longitude;
 # calls attention to the fact that the scenes thus marked have furnished themes for painting or sculpture.

This presentation of the first six books of the *Aeneid* does not run counter to the method of presentation of Virgil required by the high-school curriculum. It rather supplements it by arousing interest in the student, helping him to develop his powers of imagination and observation, stimulating his memory and giving him at least an incentive to the study of art and sculpture. The full realization of all this will, of course, depend upon the teacher.

THE THEME OF VIRGIL'S AENEID (BOOKS I—VII)

Arma—The Epic of a War * 1-7
Virum—The Hero (Trojan) ●
Fato—Working out Destiny
Vi superum—Trials due to Unfriendly Gods
Italiam—Reaches Italy
Romae—Journey's End—Founding of Rome

BOOK ONE

8-11	Prayer	"1-11"
12-34	Causes of Juno's hatred	• 33
34-50	She plans the destruction of the Trojan fleet	●
51-64	She visits Aeolus, King of the Winds	●
65-80	He promises his aid	●
# 81-101	The storm: East, West, and South Winds scatter the fleet off the Syrtes	* 94-96
101-123	The fury of the gale increases	37N-11E
124-141	Neptune rebukes the winds	O *132
142-156	He stills the waves; the rescue by sea-nymphs	O
157-179	Aeneas lands on the coast of Libya	37N-11E
180-207	He scouts for ships; slays seven deer	"81-196"
208-222	The Trojans mourn for the lost	
223-233	Venus intercedes with Jupiter	O
254-296	Jupiter's prophecy; Destiny of Rome	
#297-304	Mercury sent to Carthage: Dido is to receive Aeneas	O
305-324	Aeneas encounters Venus	O
325-334	Aeneas begins orientation	
335-371	Story of Dido; answer to request made by Venus	O
372-384	The Story of Aeneas	
385-401	Venus reassures Aeneas; fleet to be reassembled	O
402-417	She reveals herself and disappears	O
418-440	Aeneas enters Carthage; activity there	
441-493	Sculptured scenes of Trojan War in temple	"418-493"
494-519	Dido enters the Temple; lost companions of Aeneas found in throng	* 461-462
520-560	Ilioneus pleads for the Trojans	
#561-578	The friendly welcome of Dido	* 574
579-612	Aeneas reveals himself	* 607-609
613-642	Dido gives royal welcome to Trojans	* 630
643-656	Aeneas sends Achates to bring Ascanius and royal gifts	
657-694	The plan of Venus	O
695-722	Dido gives a grand banquet	
723-756	Dido toasts the Trojans	

THE TRAVELOG OR CAPTAIN AENEAS'
LOG-BOOK(N. B. The First Book is partially contained in the
Second)*Nunc animis opus, Aenea, nunc pectore firmo. VI 261*
BOOK TWO: PREAMBLE TO HIS TRAVELS: HAPPENINGS AT
TROY

1-12	Aeneas begins his story	*	3
#13-20	The story of the wooden horse		
21-39	The Trojans roam freely outside of city		
40-56	The intervention of Laocoon	*	43-48
57-76	Enter Sinon—a crafty spy		"1-56"
77-104	The story of Sinon		
105-144	His pretended escape from death (a traitor)		
145-161	Priam sets him free		
162-198	Sinon explains the mystery of the horse		"59-198"
#199-227	The terrible fate of Laocoon		
228-249	The Trojans draw the horse into the city		"199-249"
250-267	The Greeks emerge from the horse; beginning of the burning of the city and general slaughter		
268-297	Hector's ghost appears to the sleeping Aeneas		"268-298"
298-317	Aeneas rushes forth	*	311-312
318-369	Panthus rescues the sacred relics	*	324-326
370-401	The disguised Greeks work great havoc	*	350-354
402-437	Vain efforts to rescue Cassandra	*	428-430
438-452	Fierce fight about the walls and the entrance gate to Priam's palace		
453-468	Aeneas mounts roof of postern gate		
469-485	The youthful Pyrrhus (a terror)		
486-505	The Greeks pour in through the gates		
506-525	Old Priam would fain die as a soldier		"506-559"
526-558	He is slain by Pyrrhus		
559-566	The sight reminds Aeneas of home		
567-623	He is tempted to slay Helen; Venus restrains him	O	
624-633	Troy falls like a mountain ash		
634-649	Anchises is loath to depart		
650-670	Aeneas vainly pleads with his father		
671-678	Creusa implores Aeneas not to leave father and son		
679-691	The knot is cut— <i>Deus ex machina</i>	O	
#692-729	Departure from home		"655-795"
730-795	Loss of Creusa—search of Aeneas—companions gathered to sail	*	774
#796-804	The morning star rises		

BOOK THREE: THE WANDERINGS OF AENEAS BEGIN

1-12	Trojans set sail from Antandros, southeast from Troy; the gulf of Andramyttium en route to Aeneas (Aenos); passing by island of Tenedos	40N-27E
13-18	Town founded in Thrace (City of Aenos)	D 41N-26E
		M. 115
19-48	Portent-blood drops from myrtle-shoots planted on mound of Polydorus	41N-26E
49-72	Story of murdered Polydorus (he appears)	"19-72"
73-83	Trojans set sail for Sacred Island of Delos	*
		56-57
T. 84-120	Oracle of Apollo interpreted (Anchises)	D 38N-26E
		M. 200

121-146 Set sail for Crete. A new Pergamus founded

En route to Crete, pass	D 36N-26E
Naxos (island)	38N-26E
Donusa (island)	38N-26E
Olearus (island)	38N-26E
Paros (island)	38N-26E
(Cyclades)	38N-26E
	M. 150

147-191 Vision of the Penates O

T. 192-289 Set sail—storm drives them to Strophades	38N-21E
	M. 250

"209-297"

The Harpies	D 39N-21E
Set sail for Actium where games are solemnized	
En route to Actium, pass	
Zacynthus	38N-21E
Dulichium	38N-21E
Ithaca	39N-21E
Same (is.)	38N-21E
Neritus (is.)	38N-21E
Leucas (Leucadia)	39N-21E

289-293 Set sail for Buthrotum. Arrival D

En route to Buthrotum pass	40N-20E
Phaeacia (Corcyra is.)	40N-20E
Epirus Land	40N-20E
Chaonia Harbor	40N-20E
	M. 210

294-355 Meeting with Andromache and Helenus O

T. 374-462 Prophecy of Helenus—prodigy shown	463-471
Scylla and Charybdis - Cumaeian Sibyl	472-505
Helenus gives them gifts	#506-569
An affectionate farewell	
Italy the promised land — The Cyclopes	

En route to Buthrotum, pass

Ceraunia (pr.)	41N-19E
Castrum Minervae	40N-18E
	M. 125

588-654 The Cyclopes - Achaemenides and Cyclopes D

#655-706 Appearance of Polyphemus. The Escape	37N-16E
Sails for Drepanum	"588-691"
En route to Drepanum, passes	38N-13E
Pantagia (r.)	37N-16E
Thapsus	37N-16E
Ortygia (Syracuse)	37N-16E
Helorus	37N-16E
Pachynus (pr.)	37N-15E
Camerina	37N-15E
Gela	37N-15E
Acragias	38N-14E
Selinus	38N-13E
Lilybaeum	38N-13E
Drepanum	D 38N-13E

570-587 Night of Terror at Mt. Aetna M. 185

	M. 185
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588-654 The Cyclopes - Achaemenides and Cyclopes D

#655-706 Appearance of Polyphemus. The Escape	37N-16E
Sails for Drepanum	"588-691"
En route to Drepanum, passes	38N-13E
Pantagia (r.)	37N-16E
Thapsus	37N-16E
Ortygia (Syracuse)	37N-16E
Helorus	37N-16E
Pachynus (pr.)	37N-15E
Camerina	37N-15E
Gela	37N-15E
Acragias	38N-14E
Selinus	38N-13E
Lilybaeum	38N-13E
Drepanum	D 38N-13E

707-715 Death of Anchises at Drepanum D

716-718 Aeneas ends the story of his wanderings	
(He is driven by a storm from Drepanum to Carthage. Cf. beginning of Bk. I.)	
	M. 170

(To be continued)

St. Andrew-on-Hudson
Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

A. M. GUENTHER, S. J.

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